

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 IO-14 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-07 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-03 SS-20

USIA-15 ACDA-19 COME-00 EB-11 LAB-06 SIL-01 DRC-01

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P R 261839Z MAY 74

FM AMEMBASSY LONDON

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0703

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY ROME

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

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CINCUSNAVEUR

INFO AMCONSUL BELFAST

AMCONSUL EDINBURGH

AMCONSUL LIVERPOOL

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 LONDON 06572

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, PINS, PFOR, UK, EI

SUBJECT: WILSON SPEECH ' "NORTHERN IRELAND'S GREATEST  
CRISIS"

1. SUMMARY: FOLLOWING MEETINGS AT CHEQUERS ON FRIDAY  
WITH LEADERS OF THE NI EXECUTIVE PARTIES AND AN EMERGENCY  
CABINET SESSION, PM WILSON MADE TV BROADCAST SAT. NIGHT  
SAYING THAT NI FACES GRAVEST CRISIS IN HER HISTORY ...

A CRISIS EQUALLY FOR BRITAIN. EXCORIATING ILLEGAL

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ACTIONS BY SELF-APPOINTED REPRESENTATIVES OF SECTARIAN

INTEREST TO CHALLENGE CONSTITUTIONAL AUTHORITY, WILSON SAID HMG, SUPPORTED BY UNITED OPPOSITION, WOULD STAND BY EXISTING NI CONSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENTS AND ASKED FOR CONTINUED SUPPORT OF BRITISH PEOPLE FOR AS LONG AS MAY BE NECESSARY. WILSON DID NOT ANNOUNCE ANY DRAMATIC MEASURES TO DEAL WITH ULSTER WORKERS' COUNCIL ACTION, THOUGH THERE HAD BEEN SPECULATION HE MIGHT DO SO. GOVT. FACES REAL DILEMMA IN PROCEEDING AGAINST REMARKABLY SUCCESSFUL STRATEGY EMPLOYED BY PROTESTANT EXTREMISTS. WHATEVER RESULTS, THIS PERIOD SEEM CERTAIN TO OPEN RE-NEWED BRITISH QUESTIONING ABOUT ITS IRISH LIABILITIES.  
END SUMMARY

2. PM'S SPEECH WAS A STRONG REAFFIRMATION OF GOVERNMENT DETERMINATION TO RESIST PROTESTANT EXTREMIST EFFORT TO DESTROY POLITICAL STRUCTURE IN NI REPRESENTED BY NI CONSTITUTION ACT, POWER-SHARING AND SUNNINGDALE COM-PROMISES. HE DESCRIBED THESE EFFORTS AS "A DELIBERATE AND CALCULATED ATTEMPT TO USE EVERY UNDEMOCRATIC AND UN-PARLIAMENTARY MEANS FOR THE PURPOSE OF BRINGING DOWN THE WHOLE CONSTITUTION OF NORTHERN IRELAND SO AS TO SET UP THERE A SECTARIAN AND UNDEMOCRATIC STATE, FROM WHICH ONE-THIRD OF THE PEOPLE OF NORTHERN IRELAND WILL BE EXCLUDED." WILSON TRACED PAINSTAKING EFFORTS OVER PAST FEW YEARS TO DEVISE NEW, FAIRER CONSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENTS FOR NI. "WHAT HAS BEEN ACHIEVED IN NORTHERN IRELAND THESE LAST TWO YEARS PROVIDES HOPE FOR ITS FUTURE. WE ARE NOT GOING TO SEE THAT SET ASIDE BY THUGS AND BULLIES BEHAVING AS THEY DID AT BALLYMENA LAST NIGHT. WE HAVE MADE CLEAR AS A GOVERNMENT, AND WE SPEAK FOR THE OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS SO RECENTLY ELECTED, THAT WE WILL NOT NEGOTIATE ON CONSTITUTIONAL OR POLITICAL MATTERS IN NORTHERN IRELAND WITH ANYONE WHO CHOOSES TO OPERATE OUTSIDE THE ESTABLISHED CONSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK, WITH NON-ELECTED, SELF-APPOINTED PEOPLE WHO ARE SYSTEMATICALLY BREAKING THE LAW AND INTIMIDATING THE PEOPLE OF NORTHERN IRELAND - THEIR FELLOW CITIZENS AND OUR FELLOW CITIZENS WITHIN THE UNITED KINGDOM." IM-. "WE STAND BY, AS OUR PREDECESSORS STOOD BY - AND STILL STAND BY - THE DECISION TAKEN LAST YEAR THAT  
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THE NORTHERN IRELAND ASSEMBLY AND THE NORTHERN IRELAND EXECUTIVE PROVIDE THE ONLY BASIS FOR PEACE, THE ONLY BASIS FOR ORDER AND GOOD GOVERNMENT IN NORTHERN IRELAND.

4. "THOSE WHO ARE NOW CHALLENGING CONSTITUTIONAL AUTHORITY ARE DENYING THE FUNDAMENTAL RIGHT OF EVERY MAN AND WOMAN - THE RIGHT TO WORK.

5. "THEY HAVE DECIDED, WITHOUT HAVING BEEN ELECTED BY A SINGLE VOTE, WHO SHALL WORK IN NORTHERN IRELAND, AND WHO SHALL NOT. THEY SEEK TO ALLOCATE FOOD' TO DECIDE WHO SHALL EAT AND WHO SHALL NOT. BY THEIR ACTION, CHILDREN ARE PREVENTED FROM GOING TO SCHOOL, ESSENTIAL SERVICES ARE IN PERIL.

6. "BY THEIR USE OF FORCE AND INTIMIDATION THEY HAVE CONDEMNED HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF WORKERS TO INVOLUNTARY UNEMPLOYMENT. WHAT THEY DO NOT REALIZE - WHAT I HOPE

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USIA-15 ACDA-19 COME-00 EB-11 LAB-06 SIL-01 DRC-01

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P R 261857Z MAY 74

FM AMEMBASSY LONDON

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0704

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 03 LONDON 06572

THAT THEY DO NOT REALIZE - IS HOW FAR THEY MAY BE  
IMPERILLING THE JOBS OF NORTHERN IRELAND FOR YEARS TO  
COME, AND THIS IN A PROVINCE WHERE UNEMPLOYMENT IS  
TRADITIONALLY ONE OF THE GREATEST SOCIAL EVILS.'

7. TURNING TO EFFECT OF UNCONSTITUTIONAL ACTIONS IN NI  
ON BRITISH PEOPLE, PM SAID, "THE PEOPLE ON THIS SIDE OF  
THE WATER, BRITISH PARENTS, BRITISH TAXPAYERS, HAVE  
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SEEN THEIR SONS VILIFIED AND SPAT UPON AND MURDERED.  
THEY HAVE SEEN THE TAXES THEY HAVE POURED OUT ALMOST  
WITHOUT REGARD TO COST - OVER 300 MILLION POUNDS A YEAR  
THIS YEAR WITH THE COST OF THE ARMY OPERATIONS ON TOP  
OF THAT - GOING INTO NORTHERN IRELAND. THEY SEE PROPERTY  
DESTROYED BY EVIL VIOLENCE AND ARE ASKED TO PICK UP THE  
BILL FOR REBUILDING IT. YET PEOPLE WHO BENEFIT FROM  
THIS NOW VICIOUSLY DEFY WESTMINSTER PURPORTING TO ACT  
AS THOUGH THEY WERE AN ELECTED GOVERNMENT SPENDING THEIR  
LIVES SPONGING ON WESTMINSTER AND BRITISH DEMOCRACY AND  
THEN SYSTEMATICALLY ASSAULT DEMOCRATIC METHODS. WHO DO  
THESE PEOPLE THINK THEY ARE?'

8. 'IT IS WHEN WE SEE THE KIND OF ARROGANT, UNDEMOCRATIC  
BEHAVIOR NOW GOING ON THAT THE PATIENCE OF CITIZENS,  
PARENTS, TAXPAYERS, BECOMES STRAINED.

9. "TONIGHT I ASK FOR AN EXTENSION OF THAT PATIENCE FOR  
AS LONG AS IT IS NEEDED.'

10. PM ENDED BROADCAST WITH FOLLOWING STATEMENT OF  
SUPPORT FOR NI EXECUTIVE, "THE PEOPLE OF NORTHERN IRELAND  
AND THEIR DEMOCRATICALLY ELECTED ASSEMBLY AND EXECUTIVE  
HAVE THE JOINT DUTY OF SEEING THIS THING THROUGH ON THE  
ONLY BASIS ON WHICH TRUE UNITY CAN BE ACHIEVED - DEMO-  
CRATIC ELECTIONS, CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT AND THE  
SPIRIT OF TOLERANCE AND RECONCILIATION. AND IN DOING  
THAT THEY WILL HAVE THE SUPPORT OF THE BRITISH GOVERN-  
MENT WITH OUR RESPONSIBILITIES, WITHIN THE UNITED KING-  
DOM AND OUR RESPONSIBILITIES IN WORLD AFFAIRS, FOR LAW  
AND ORDER IN NORTHERN IRELAND. WE INTEND TO SEE IT  
THROUGH WITH THEM."

10. COMMENT: SUCCESS OF PROTESTANT EXTREMIST ORGANIZA-  
TIONS UNDER ULSTER WORKERS' COUNCIL LEADERSHIP IN  
BRINGING NORMAL LIFE IN NI TO A HALT AND IN POSING

DIRECT CHALLENGE TO AUTHORITY OF STATE HAS BEEN RECOGNIZED AS CREATING EXTREMELY SERIOUS SITUATION BY BRITISH PUBLIC AS WELL AS WESTMINSTER MPS AND GOVERNMENT. DETERMINATION OF GOVERNMENT NOT TO MAKE CONCESSIONS UNDER DURESS HAS RECEIVED SOLID BACKING BY ALL PARTIES AND IN MEDIA. NEVERTHELESS, WILSON'S SPEECH WAS CLEARLY CONFIDENTIAL

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AS MUCH AN APPEAL FOR CONTINUED SUPPORT BY BRITISH PEOPLE, THOROUGHLY ANGERED AND FED-UP WITH IRISH SITUATION, AS IT WAS WARNING TO NI EXTREMISTS.

11. UWC STRATEGY OF DISRUPTING NORMAL ECONOMIC AND CIVIL ACTIVITIES IN NI TO POINT JUST BELOW THAT LIKELY TO CAUSE TOTAL BREAKDOWN OF SUCH ESSENTIAL SERVICES AS HOSPITAL OPERATIONS, WATER AND SEWAGE SHUTDOWNS, ETC., HAS BEEN REMARKABLY SUCCESSFUL. IT HAS POSED OBVIOUS DILEMMA FOR BRITISH GOVERNMENT WHICH HAS CONSTANTLY BEEN ON KNIFE EDGE OF DECISION AS TO WHEN IT MAY PROVE NECESSARY TO USE TROOPS TO PREVENT TOTAL CATASTROPHE. UWC HAS ALSO BEEN SUCCESSFUL IN GETTING ACROSS THREAT THAT

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P R 261857Z MAY 74

FM AMEMBASSY LONDON

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0705

AMEMBASSY BONN  
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS  
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN  
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IF BRITISH TROOPS ARE USED TO MAINTAIN ESSENTIAL SERVICES OR OTHERWISE INTERFERE IN "STRIKE,..THERE WILL RESULT IN FURTHER WITHDRAWAL OF LABOR BY WORKERS AND POSSIBLE MILITARY CONFRONTATION. MEANWHILE, UWC PERMITS LIFE TO CONTINUE AT A CERTAIN MINIMUM BUT PHYSICALLY TOLERABLE LEVEL, AND LOOKS INCREASINGLY LIKE A PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT. ITS LEADERS THUMB THEIR NOSES AT ALL THREATS. THUS, BRITISH AUTHORITIES FACE AWFUL DILEMMA  
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OF BEING DAMNED IF THEY DO MOVE, AND DAMNED IF THEY DON'T.

12. WILSON'S SPEECH SHOWED AWARENESS OF THIS: HE DID NOT ANNOUNCE ANY MAJOR MILITARY MOVE AGAINST STRIKE LEADERS AND AVOIDED MAKING GENERALIZED THREATS. WE THINK IT LIKELY THAT HMG WILL CONTINUE TO DEFER ANY ACTION THAT MIGHT LEAD TO EVEN MORE DIRECT CONFRONTATION WITH MILITANTS, BUT THAT THEY WILL TAKE INCREASINGLY TOUGH ACTION TOWARDS INDIVIDUALS ENGAGING IN VIOLENCE OR CLEARLY OBSTRUCTING RIGHTS OF OTHERS. HMG MAY HOPE THAT PROLONGED DEPRIVATION CAUSED BY STRIKE AND PUBLIC RECOGNITION OF DAMAGE BEING DONE TO NI ECONOMY WILL BRING EFFECTIVE PUBLIC PRESSURE TO BEAR ON UWC FROM WITHIN NI PROTESTANT COMMUNITY. IF SO, PERHAPS STRIKE WILL PETER OUT. IF NOT, WE BELIEVE GOVERNMENT IS PREPARED IN FINAL ANALYSIS TO TAKE MILITARY MEASURES NECESSARY TO DO WHAT ITS CAPABILITIES PERMIT TO MEET GOVERNMENT'S RESPONSIBILITIES.

13. WHATEVER HAPPENS FROM HERE ON OUT, HOWEVER, RECENT

EVENTS ARE CERTAIN, TO ASSURE A MAJOR PUBLIC DEBATE IN  
BRITAIN ABOUT MAINTENANCE OF ITS IRISH LIABILITY.

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## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
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**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** golinofr  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
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**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
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**Review Transfer Date:**  
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**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** WILSON SPEECH ' "NORTHERN IRELAND'S GREATEST CRISIS"  
**TAGS:** PINT, PINS, PFOR, UK, EI, ULSTER WORKERS COUNCIL, (WILSON, HAROLD)  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
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